

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 NEAE-00 DHA-02 MCT-01
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O R 071344Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1060
INFO AMCONGEN BOMBAY
AMCONGEN CALCUTTA
AMCONGEN MADRAS
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 1833

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IN
SUBJECT: CONGRESS AND OPPOSITION HOLD WEEKEND RALLIES IN DELHI

REF: NEW DELHI 1672

SUMMARY: IN MASS RALLIES OVER THE WEEKEND, THE CONGRESS AND
THE OPPOSITION SET FORTH THE MAJOR THEMES THAT ARE LIKELY TO
DOMINATE THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN: CONGRESS INTENDS TO STAND ON
ITS RECORD AND DEFEAT THE FORCES OF COMMUNALISM AND OPPORTUNISM,
WHILE THE OPPOSITION SEES THE ELECTION AS A CHOICE BETWEEN
DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP. SEVERAL OMINOUS TRENDS HAVE BEGUN
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TO APPEAR, HOWEVER, INCLUDING MRS. GANDHI'S POINTED REFERENCE
TO ACTS OF VIOLENCE COMMITTED AGAINST CONGRESSMEN AND HER
CLEAR WARNING THAT SUCH ACTS WILL NOT BE TOLERATED AND
REFERENCES TO THE "KILLERS OF MAHATMA GANDHI". AS FOR THE
OPPOSITION JP'S JUSTIFICATION OF HIS POLICE AND ARMY
DISOBEDIENCE APPEALS IN 1975 AND OPPOSITION SWIPES AT SANJAY
AND THE PM WILL BOTH SMART AND AROUSE THE PM'S IRE. IF THE

JUXTAPOSITION OF CONGRESS AND OPPOSITION RALLIES IN THE SAME VENUE CAN BE REGARDED AS A TEST OF POPULAR APPEAL, IT IS APPARENT THAT THE OPPOSITION WON THE MATCH. ITS CROWD APPEARED TO HEAR MRS. GANCHI. END SUMMARY

1. MRS. GANDHI KICKED OFF THE CONGRESS PARTY'S ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN BY ADDRESSING A LARGE PUBLIC RALLY AT DELHI'S RAMLILA GROUNDS ON FEB. 5. THE CROWD WAS DESCRIBED AS LARGE (150,000 TO 200,000), BUT ITS REACTION WAS LACK LUSTER. THERE WERE NUMBERS OF MINISTERS AND STATE LEADERS ON THE PLATFORM WITH HER, BUT SANJAY GANDHI WAS CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT ALTHOUGH A LARGE PICTURE OF HIM WAS RAISED BY A GROUP NEAR THE DIAS. THE PM SPOKE AFTER LONG AND UNENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED SPEECHES BY GOI MINISTERS MIR QASIM AND KAMALAPATHI TRIPATHI, AND ONE MINUTE REMARKS BY SWARAN SINGH AND YBCHAVAN. CONGRESS PRESIDENT BAROOAH WAS SUPPOSED TO SPEAK NEXT, BUT RESTLESSNESS IN THE CROWD APPARENTLY PROMPTED THE PM TO PREEMPT HIS PLACE AND SPEAK FIRST. AS A RESULT, BAROOAH FOUND HIS AUDIENCE RAPIDLY VANISHING WHEN HE ATTEMPTED TO SAY A FEW WORDS FOLLOWING MRS. GANDHI.

2. IN HER SPEECH, THE PRIME MINISTER DECLARED THAT THE ELECTIONS WERE BEING HELD NOT FOR THE BENEFIT OF ANY ONE INDIVIDUAL OR PARTY BUT RATHER TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY. FOR 90 YEARS THE CONGRESS HAS BEEN DEDICATED TO UNIFYING AND STRENGTHENING INDIA, AND SHE POINTED TO THE GAINS ACHIEVED DURING THE NINETEEN MONTHS OF THE EMERGENCY -- GAINS WHICH EVEN THE OPPOSITION COULD NOT DENY. SHE CONCEDED THAT HER GOVERNMENT HAD MADE A FEW MISTAKES AND CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT PEOPLE IN DELHI WERE SAID TO BE UNHAPPY. SHE REFERRED TO THE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM IN THIS CONNECTION. SHE CLAIMED THAT THE POLICY WAS CORRECT, ALTHOUGH THERE MAY HAVE BEEN FLAWS IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION. IN A DEFENSIVE TONE, SHE ALSO EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE EMERGENCY HAD CAUSED SOME INCONVENIENCE TO CERTAIN PEOPLE.

3. REFERRING TO THE OPPOSITION AS A "HOTCH-POTCH" OF COMMUNALISTS, OPPORTUNISTS, CAPITALISTS, MARXISTS AND ANARCHISTS, THE PM DECLARED THAT THE OPPOSITION HAD NO PRINCIPLES OR PROGRAMS IN COMMON AND HAD NO OBJECTIVE OTHER THAN TO WEAKEN THE COUNTRY. SHE ASKED RHETORICALLY: "CAN THEY FORM A GOVERNMENT, AND EVEN IF THEY CAN, WHOSE POLICIES WOULD IT FOLLOW -- THOSE OF THE MARXISTS OR THE R.S.S.?" SHE URGED THE PEOPLE TO REMEMBER WHO KILLED MAHATMA GANDHI; THESE SAME PEOPLE WERE NOW PREACHING GANDHIAN IDEALS AND THE PEOPLE SHOULD SEE THROUGH THEIR PERFDY. SHE ALSO WARNED THE PEOPLE TO BEWARE OF THE OPPOSITION'S RUMOR-MONGERING.

4. THE PM DECLARED THAT VIOLENCE WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED DURING THE CAMPAIGN, NOR WOULD FALSE ACCUSATIONS, ABUSES OR SLANDER BE ALLOWED DURING THE CAMPAIGN OR AFTER. IN THIS CONNECTION, SHE ANGRILY REFERRED TO NEWS REPORTS WHICH HAD APPEARED THAT MORNING CONCERNING THE KILLING OF A YOUTH CONGRESS WORKER IN BIHAR AND AN ATTACK ON A CONGRESSMEN IN GUJARAT. SHE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE EMERGENCY WAS BEING RELAXED, THERE WOULD BE NO RETURN TO PRE-EMERGENCY CONDITIONS. PERSONS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS AND EVEN RAISE SLOGANS, BUT VIOLENT ACTS WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED.

5. MRS. GANDHI DEFENDED THE 20 POINT PROGRAM AS A GOVERNMENT PROGRAM AND THE FIVE-POINT PROGRAM AS A PEOPLE'S PROGRAM, SAYING THAT THE TWO (WHICH SHE SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO AS THE 25 POINT PROGRAM PACKAGE) WERE THE BASIS OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION. THE FIVE POINTS, SHE SAID, WERE NOTHING NEW AND INDEED HAD ALWAYS BEEN PART OF THE CONGRESS PARTY'S CONFIDENTIAL

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PHILOSOPHY IN THE SOCIAL SPHERE.

6. COMMENT: AN EMBASSY FSL AT THE RALLY REMARKED THAT HE HAD NEVER SEEN OR HEARD MRS. GANDHI AS ANGRY AND HARSH AS IN HER SPEECH THAT DAY. IT WAS CLEAR EVEN TO NON-HINDI SPEAKING EMBOFFS PRESENT THAT HER DELIVERY WAS SHRILL AND TENSE, AND AT ONE POINT SHE TURNED AROUND AND TOLD HER COLLEAGUES ON THE DIAS TO BE QUIET WHILE SHE WAS SPEAKING. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF HER ACTUAL WORDS HARDLY CONVEYS THE TONE OF HER VOICE OR THE INTENSITY WITH WHICH SHE INVEIGHED AGAINST A RETURN TO VIOLENCE. HER REMARKS ELICITED VIRTUALLY NO APPLAUSE OTHER THAN FROM FRONT RANKS IN THE CROWD, AND PRESS REPORTS ACCURATELY PORTRAY THE EFFORT BY NUMEROUS GROUPS WHO HAD ARRIVED TOGETHER TO LEAVE ALMOST AS SOON AS SHE BEGAN SPEAKING. SHE CONCLUDED HER REMARKS WITH A DEFENSIVE REFERENCE TO THE LENGTH OF TIME THE CROWD HAD BEEN SITTING AND WAITING, BUT THE IMAGE OF THE ENTIRE RALLY WAS HARDLY ONE OF ENTHUSIASM. THAT MANY OF THOSE ATTENDING WERE PRESS-GANGED INTO COMING DID NOT ADD TO THE SPIRIT OF THE DAY. END COMMENT

7. IN A TALK WITH JOURNALISTS THE NEXT DAY (FEBRUARY 6) THE PM CONTINUED TO TRY TO PLAY DOWN THE ROLE OF SANJAY AND HIS FIVE POINTS. SHE DENIED THAT SANJAY WAS WIELDING GOVERNMENTAL POWERS WITHOUT ANY AUTHORITY. IT WAS TRUE THAT HE MIGHT HAVE MET SOME GOVERNMENT OFFICERS BUT THAT WAS "MORE TO KEEP ME INFORMED". OFFICIALS, SHE CLAIMED, CANNOT TAKE ORDERS FROM HIM, NOR CAN HE GIVE THEM.

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CU-02 /067 W

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O R 071344Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 2 NEW DELHI 1833

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

8. ON FEB. 6 IT WAS THE OPPOSITION'S TURN TO ADDRESS A
RALLY AT THE SAME VENUE AS THE PM HAD. ORIGINALLY ONLY J.P.
NARAYAN AND AKALI LEADER P.S. BADAL HAD BEEN SCHEDULED AS THE
MAIN SPEAKERS, BUT FOLLOWING HIS DRAMATIC RESIGNATION ON
FEB. 2, FORMER AGRICULTURE MINISTER JAGJIVAN RAM WAS ADDED
TO THE BILL. IT TURNED OUT TO BE A SELL-OUT COMBINATION,
AND ACCORDING TO MOST OBSERVERS THE CROWDS SUBSTANTIALLY
SURPASSED THOSE OF THE PREVIOUS DAY. THE COMMON THEME
RUNNING THROUGH THE SPEECHES WAS STRIKINGLY SIMILAR TO THAT
PROCLAIMED BY MRS. GANDHI THE DAY BEFORE: THE ELECTION WAS
NOT A QUESTION OF CHOOSING ONE PARTY OR ANOTHER, BUT RATHER
A QUESTION OF THE PEOPLE DECIDING THEIR OWN FUTURE. ECHOING
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MORARJI DESAI'S ADDRESS THE PREVIOUS SUNDAY, OPPOSITION LEADERS
DECLARED THAT THE MAIN ISSUE WAS THE CHOICE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY
AND DICTATORSHIP.

9. J. P. NARAYAN HARKENED BACK TO THE LAST TIME HE HAD SPOKEN AT THE RAMLILA GROUNDS (JUNE 25, 1975) AND RECALLED HIS ARREST SEVERAL HOURS LATER WHEN THE EMERGENCY WAS DECLARED. HE SOUGHT TO VINDICATE HIMSELF BY DECLARING THAT HE HAD DONE NOTHING WRONG WHEN HE HAD CALLED ON SECURITY FORCES TO DISOBEY ILLEGAL ORDERS. HE CLAIMED THAT A LAWYER HAD ADVISED HIM THAT THE POLICE AND MILITARY CODES ALLOWED AN OFFICER TO DISOBEY UNJUST ORDERS. J. P. REFUTED MRS. GANDHI'S CONTENTION THAT TURBULENCE IN THE COUNTRY HAD REQUIRED THE PROCLAMATION OF THE EMERGENCY; RATHER, IT WAS DECLARED BECAUSE THE PM LOVES POWER AND "SHE DOES NOT LIKE TO LEAVE IT AT ANY COST". HE DECLARED THAT THE ONLY ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE EMERGENCY WERE THE REMOVAL OF THE PEOPLE'S CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE IMPRISONMENT OF THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE. HE CLAIMED THAT PRISONERS HAD SUFFERED "EXCESSES" AT THE HANDS OF THE POLICE AND SOME HAD EVEN DIED IN JAIL. NARAYAN REGRETTED THAT THE EMERGENCY HAD PRODUCED AN ATMOSPHERE OF FEAR AMONG THE PEOPLE AND APPEALED TO THEM TO COME FORWARD WITH THEIR "NOTES (I.E. CONTRIBUTIONS) AND VOTES" AND FEARLESSLY CHOOSE BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SLAVERY. HE CONCLUDED: "YOU WILL DECIDE WHETHER INDIA WILL BE A COUNTRY OF FREE PEOPLE OR OF SLAVES."

10. IN HIS REMARKS, JAGJIVAN RAM ECHOED MANY OF THESE POINTS AND ADDED A FEW OF HIS OWN. HE URGED THE PEOPLE TO VOTE AGAINST CONGRESS CANDIDATES BECAUSE THAT PARTY STOOD FOR AUTHORITARIANISM. REFERRING TO HIS SURPRISE RESIGNATION FROM THE CONGRESS, RAM SAID THAT HE HAD NOT BROKEN WITH MRS. GANDHI EARLIER BECAUSE WITH PRESS CENSORSHIP IN FORCE NO ONE WOULD HAVE KNOWN OF HIS ACTION. HE HAD KEPT HIS DECISION SECRET FROM THE PM TO THE VERY MOMENT OF HIS ANNOUNCEMENT BECAUSE "MANY SPIES" WERE WATCHING HIM AND EVEN NOW THE LICENSE PLATE NUMBERS OF ALL CARS THAT COME TO HIS HOUSE ARE NOTED

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DOWN AND REPORTED. RAM SAID THAT WHEN THE CONGRESS SPLIT IN 1969 IT HAD BROKEN WITH FIVE OR SIX BOSSES. IN AN OBVIOUS SWIPE AT SANJAY, HE ADDED THAT SINCE THE EMERGENCY THE COUNTRY HAD BEEN RULED BY "ONE AND A HALF BOSSES". WHILE REMINDING HIS AUDIENCE OF SANJAY, HOWEVER, RAM INSISTED THAT HE HELD MRS. GANDHI RESPONSIBLE FOR EVERYTHING THAT HER SON HAD DONE, FOCUSING HIS TARGET ON THE PM RATHER THAN SANJAY. HE CLAIMED THAT CONGRESS WORKERS WERE FOLLOWING HIS LEAD IN MASSIVE NUMBERS AND THAT MRS. GANDHI'S "THRONE IS SHAKING". HE DECLARED THAT SINCE SHE CAME FROM AN ARISTOCRATIC FAMILY AND WAS BORN WITH A SILVER SPOON IN HER MOUTH, THE PM HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE REAL INDIA; EVERYTHING SHE HAD LEARNED HAD COME FROM BOOKS; IN CONTRAST "WE DO NOT HAVE TO LEARN THESE THINGS; WE KNOW THEM ON OUR OWN." RAM WENT ON TO ATTACK THE RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES WHICH HAD

UPROOTED COUNTLESS NUMBERS OF POOR PEOPLE. REFERRING TO INSINUATIONS FROM THE RULING PARTY THAT THE OPPOSITION WANTED TO PROVOKE VIOLENCE IN THE CAMPAIGN, RAM EXPRESSED HIS FEAR THAT THESE ALLEGATIONS WERE BEING MADE TO FOMENT VIOLENCE AND TURMOIL. HE URGED PEOPLE NOT TO DISRUPT MEETINGS OF THE CONGRESS PARTY, NOT TO BE PROVOKED BY ITS ALLEGATIONS, AND NOT TO RAISE SLOGANS CALLING FOR DEATH TO THEIR OPPONENTS ("MURDABAD").

11. COMMENT: IN THE OPINION OF EMBOFFS AND OTHER OBSERVERS WHO ATTENDED BOTH RALLIES, THE CROWD AT THE OPPOSITION MEETING WAS NOT ONLY LARGER, BUT ALSO MORE ENTHUSIASTIC THAN THE TURNOUT FOR MRS. GANDHI. IN CONTRAST TO THE PREVIOUS DAY WHEN TRUCKS AND BUSES HAD BROUGHT THE PM HER AUDIENCE, PEOPLE STREAMED TO THE OPPOSITION RALLY ON FOOT BECAUSE MANY ROUTES TO THE RAMLILA GROUNDS WERE CLOSED TO CARS AND BUSES. A MIDDLE-CLASS AUDIENCE, THE CROWD WAS PATIENT AND ENTHUSIASTIC AND FREQUENTLY INTERRUPTED SPEECHES WITH LOUD APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER, PARTICULARLY AT THE WITTICISMS WHICH SOME SPEAKERS (NOTABLY RAM AND H.O., BAHUGUNA) CAST AT MRS. GANDHI AND HER SON. WHILE THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONGRESS

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RALLY SEEMED TO CONSIDER THEIR DUTY DONE BY SIMPLY SHOWING UP, THE OPPOSITION CROWD HAD QUITE CLEARLY COME TO SEE AND HEAR THE SPEAKERS. AS RAM JOKED IN HIS SPEECH, "MRS. GANDHI HAD A CROWD WHILE THE WE HAVE AN AUDIENCE."

12. HOWEVER, CERTAIN DISTURBING TRENDS HAVE BEGUN TO APPEAR IN THE SPEECH-MAKING. MRS. GANDHI MADE A POINT OF REFERRING TO TWO ISOLATED INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE INVOLVING A YOUTH CONGRESS WORKER AND A CONGRESSMAN, DARKLY WARNING THAT SUCH ACTS WILL NOT BE TOLERATED. ON THE OPPOSITION SIDE, J. P. NARAYAN COULD NOT RESIST VINDICATING HIMSELF OVER THE EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE EMERGENCY AND POINTEDLY DREDGED UP HIS FAMOUS REMARKS ABOUT THE POLICE DISOBEYING ILLEGAL ORDERS. BY REFUSING TO LET THE PAST WELL ENOUGH ALONE, J.P. COULD BE OPENING UP OLD WOUNDS AND THUS GIVING THE PM EXTRA AMMUNITION WITH WHICH TO ATTACK THE OPPOSITION. FOR HER PART, BY REPEATEDLY RAISING THE IMAGE OF THE "KILLERS OF GANDHI", DAMNING THE RSS FOR THEIR ANTI-MUSLIM VIEWS, AND TARRING THE WHOLE OPPOSITION WITH THIS BRUSH, MRS. GANDHI IS HERSELF SKIRTING CLOSE TO COMMUNAL APPEALS WHICH COULD BE DANGEROUS AND EXPLOSIVE.

13. SO FAR AS THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN DELHI ITSELF IS CONCERNED, MRS. GANDHI SEEMED EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO THE PROBABILITY THAT CONGRESS HAS AN UPHILL BATTLE TO OVERCOME A SERIES OF LOCAL RESENTMENTS OVER EMERGENCY ACTIONS AND SANJAY'S POLICIES IN DELHI OVER THE LAST 19 MONTHS. THE

ENTHUSIASTIC OPPOSITION RALLY, CENTERED AS IT WAS ON A
DISSATISFIED MIDDLE-CLASS, ILLUSTRATED AND UNDERScoreD THIS
PROBLEM.
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